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'UEHFB/DIRFBI WASHDC
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'UEHPE/AMEMBASSY LIMA 5017
'UWMEGA/USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
'UEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

/********** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE **********/
BODY
TAGS: PTER, PGOV, PHUM, ASEC, PINR, BL
SUBJECT: GOB CLAIMS TO HAVE "DISMANTLED" THE EGTK

REF: A) LA PAZ 1404 (NOTAL), B) LA PAZ 3810
- C) LA PAZ 4407 (NOTAL), D) LA PAZ 5165 (NOTAL)
- E) LA PAZ 2973 (NOTAL), F) LA PAZ 4970 (NOTAL)
- G) LA PAZ 6013 (NOTAL)

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: IN A PRESS CONFERENCE ON APRIL 15, THE GOB ANNOUNCED THAT IT HAS "VIRTUALLY DISMANTLED" THE LEADERSHIP OF THE TUPAC KATARI GUERRILLA ARMY (EGTK).

ACCORDING TO INTERIOR MINISTER CARLOS SAAVEDRA, GOB OPERATIONS SINCE JANUARY HAVE LED TO THE ARREST OF 16 KEY IMPORTANT EGTK PLAYERS; 10 MORE ARE STILL AT LARGE, INCLUDING ALLEGED NATIONAL LEADER FELIPE QUISPE HUANCA. THOSE ARRESTED INCLUDE THE MEMBERS OF THE EGTK'S NATIONAL DIRECTORATE, WHO IN PUBLIC COURT HEARINGS HAVE EXHIBITED A TEMERITY NOT USUALLY SEEN IN A COUNTRY THAT PRIDES ITSELF ON NON-CONFRONTATION. SAAVEDRA ATTRIBUTED 48 TERRORIST ACTIONS IN FIVE DEPARTMENTS TO THE EGTK SINCE JULY 1991, INCLUDING ROBBERIES YIELDING OVER USD 500,000.

3. AS GOB OFFICIALS HAVE DONE REPEATEDLY THROUGHOUT THE ANTI-EGTK CAMPAIGN, SAAVEDRA PLAYED UP HUMAN RIGHTS CONSIDERATIONS AND PLAYED DOWN POTENTIAL NARCO-TERRORISM LINKS. HE ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE CRACKDOWN COULD RESULT IN EGTK REPRISALS. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF AN UNNECESSARY CONTROVERSY OVER NGO-EGTK LINKS, THE GOB SEEMS TO HAVE CONDUCTED A DETERMINED, PROFESSIONAL ANTI-TERRORIST CAMPAIGN WHICH APPEARS TO HAVE STRUCK A HARD BLOW AGAINST THE EGTK. HOWEVER, DESPITE CLAIMS THAT THE EGTK LACKS WIDESPREAD PUBLIC SUPPORT, THE UNDERLYING SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS FOR ITS EMERGENCE REMAIN. END SUMMARY.

EGTK LEADERSHIP "VIRTUALLY DISMANTLED"

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4. IN A PRESS CONFERENCE ON APRIL 15, INTERIOR MINISTER CARLOS SAAVEDRA, FLANKED BY INTERIOR AND JUSTICE SUBSECRETARIES MARCO ANTONIO OVIEDO AND MARCELO SALINAS AND BOLIVIAN NATIONAL POLICE (BNP) COMMANDER JAIME CESPEDES, ANNOUNCED THAT THE GOB HAD "VIRTUALLY DISMANTLED" THE LEADERSHIP OF THE TUPAC KATARI GUERRILLA ARMY (EGTK). BACKED BY CHARTS AND PHOTOS, SAAVEDRA SAID THAT 16 KEY EGTK MEMBERS HAD BEEN CAPTURED IN OPERATIONS SINCE JANUARY (SEE LIST OF NAMES, PARA SEVEN). HE ALSO CREDITED THE EGTK WITH CONDUCTING 48 TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN LA PAZ, SUCRE, POTOSI, COCHABAMBA AND ORURO DEPARTMENTS SINCE FROM JULY 1991-APRIL 1992, INCLUDING FOUR ROBBERIES, WHICH NETTED OVER USD 500,000. (THE OCTOBER 1991 ROBBERY FROM COCHABAMBA'S SAN SIMON UNIVERSITY ALONE YIELDED ALMOST USD 400,000.) SAAVEDRA LAUDED THE BNP'S SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS UNIT (CEIP) FOR ITS LEADING ROLE IN THE ANTI-EGTK CAMPAIGN, AND HE STRESSED THAT NO ONE WAS HURT DURING THE OPERATIONS. HE ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE CRACKDOWN COULD GENERATE REPRISALS FROM THE EGTK.

5. ACCORDING TO SAAVEDRA, THE GOB'S CAMPAIGN BEGAN IN JANUARY WITH THE ARREST OF EGTK MEMBER MIGUEL ZUBIETA (REF A). ALTHOUGH RELEASED HIMSELF DUE TO PRESSURE FROM LABOR LEADERS, ZUBIETA PROVIDED INFORMATION LEADING TO THE ARREST OF TWO EGTK MEMBERS IN THE COMMUNITY OF INCA CATURAPI NEAR LAKE TITICACA ON FEBRUARY 26 (REF B). THE EVIDENCE RECOVERED DURING THOSE RAIDS, PLUS INFORMATION OBTAINED THROUGH PRISONER INTERROGATION, HELPED SUPPORT A SERIES OF RAIDS AGAINST SAFE HOUSES IN LA PAZ

/****** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 ******/
AND
COCHABAMBA (MARCH 9-16) WHICH COLLECTED SIGNIFICANT AMOUNTS OF PHYSICAL EVIDENCE, COMPUTER RECORDS AND DOCUMENTATION (REF C). THE CAMPAIGN ALSO INCLUDED AN UNUSUAL (FOR BOLIVIA) SHOOTOUT ON MARCH 9 BETWEEN SUSPECTS AND CEIP OFFICERS IN THE CROWDED LA PAZ MUNICIPAL STADIUM. FORTUNATELY, NO ONE WAS INJURED DURING THE INCIDENT.

NATIONAL DIRECTORATE ARRESTED; LEADER AT LARGE

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6. ARRESTED AFTER THE MARCH 9 SHOOTOUT WERE RAUL GARCIA LINERA AND HIS WIFE, SYLVIA MARIA GARCIA DE ALARCON, TWO OF THE MEMBER'S OF THE EGTK'S NATIONAL DIRECTORATE. FOLLOWING FURTHER INTERROGATION, INVESTIGATION AND AN EXTENSIVE MANHUNT, THE OTHER TWO MEMBERS, ALVARO GARCIA (RAUL S BROTHER) AND HIS WIFE, MARIA RAQUEL GUTIERREZ, A

MEXICAN NATIONAL, WERE ARRESTED ON APRIL 10. FELIPE QUISPE HUANCA, ALIAS "MARCELO," THE ALLEGED NATIONAL EGTK LEADER, REMAINS AT LARGE, HOWEVER. ALSO ARRESTED, DURING THE GOB'S MASSIVE COUNTERNARCOTICS OPERATION "GHOST ZONE" IN THE CHAPARE, WAS TIBURCIO HERRARDA, AKA "COMANDANTE LORO" (REF D), A SELF-DECLARED "TRAINER" FOR THE EGTK. THE EGTK DIRECTORATE MEMBERS COULD FACE SENTENCES OF UP TO 20 YEARS; HERRARDA IS LIKELY TO RECEIVE A LIGHTER SENTENCE.

7. THE 16 EGTK MEMBERS IN CUSTODY, AS REPORTED BY THE MEDIA INCLUDE (WITH ARREST DATE/LOCATION INDICATED):

-- FELIX ANSMEDNI CAIZA (LA PAZ DEPT, FEBRUARY 26)
-- JESUS ROJAS LUCANA (LA PAZ DEPT, FEBRUARY 26)
-- RAUL AND SYLVIA GARCIA (LA PAZ, MARCH 9)
-- TIBURCIO HERRARDA LAMAS (CHAPARE, MARCH 27)
-- ALVARO GARCIA (LA PAZ DEPT, APRIL 10)
-- MARIA GUTIERREZ (LA PAZ DEPT, APRIL 10)

-- SILVERIO MAITA MACIAS (LA PAZ DEPT, APRIL 10)
-- VICTOR ORTIZ QUISBETH (LA PAZ DEPT, APRIL 10)
-- SANTIAGO YANIQUE APAZA (LA PAZ DEPT, APRIL 10)
-- MACARIO THOLA CARDENAS (APRIL 11)
-- WILFREDO VELA MALDONADO
-- JOSE BALBOA CAMACHO
-- JUAN VEIZAGA ROJAS
-- MARIO VEIZAGA ROJAS
-- MODESTO ESCOBAR TAMES

(THESE LAST FIVE REPORTEDLY WERE ARRESTED IN MARCH AND ARE IN CUSTODY IN COCHABAMBA.)

UNUSUAL PUBLIC TEMERITY

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8. DURING THEIR COURT HEARING ON MARCH 26, RAUL AND SYLVIA GARCIA BOLDLY DECLARED THAT THEY WERE EGTK AND HAD BEGUN THEIR "FIGHT AGAINST AN UNJUST SYSTEM" WITH BOMBINGS IN THE LA PAZ AREA ON JULY 4, 1991 JUST AS THE OPPOSITION MNR'S "HONOR BRIGADES" HAD FOUGHT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT DURING THE 1952 REVOLUTION. THE GARCIAS ALSO MAINTAINED THAT THE EGTK HAD AT LEAST 300 MEMBERS ORGANIZED IN CELLS NATIONWIDE. PROSECUTOR JOSE NEMTALA ADDED THAT THE EGTK HAD PLANS TO ASSASSINATE A NUMBER OF LEADING POLITICAL BUSINESS AND LABOR LEADERS, SUCH AS ADN PARTY LEADER HUGO BANZER, MIR CHIEF OSCAR EID, MNR LEADER GONI SANCHEZ DE LOZADA, CONFEDERATION OF PRIVATE BUSINESSMEN PRESIDENT FERNANDO ILLANES AND LABOR LEADER SIMON REYES. GOB LEADERS QUICKLY DISCOUNTED THE

ASSASSINATION PLANS, BUT THE BOLIVIAN MEDIA AND PUBLIC

/****** BEGINNING OF SECTION 003 ******/
WERE STRUCK BY THE GARCIAS' UNREPENTANT TEMERITY, RARE IN A COUNTRY THAT PRIDES ITSELF ON BEING NON-VIOLENT.

GOB PLAYS UP HUMAN RIGHTS; PLAYS DOWN NARCO-TERRORISM

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9. THROUGH LIBERAL USE OF THE MEDIA DURING THESE OPERATIONS, GOB OFFICIALS HAVE STRESSED REPEATEDLY THAT THE PRISONER'S HUMAN RIGHTS HAVE NOT BEEN VIOLATED. IN THEIR COURT APPEARANCES, THE GARCIA COUPLE AND OTHER EGTK DETAINEES HAVE CLAIMED TO HAVE BEEN TORTURED, BUT WE'VE SEEN NO EVIDENCE OF THAT. (HOWEVER, OUR POLICE CONTACTS ADMIT TO EXTENSIVE USE OF SLEEP DEPRIVATION DURING THE INTERROGATION PROCESS.) SOME FAMILY MEMBERS OF THE ARRESTEES HAVE FILED HABEAS CORPUS CLAIMS, BUT THE GOB SEEMS TO HAVE CAREFULLY BUILT ITS CASES AGAINST THE EGTK MEMBERS TO WITHSTAND SUCH CHALLENGES. (COMMENT: IN FACT, THE GOB SEEMS TO BE FOLLOWING MANY OF THE CASE CONSTRUCTION REQUIREMENTS BUILT INTO ITS DRAFT ANTI
-TERRORISM LAW, REF E. THOSE REQUIREMENTS PERMIT RAPID POLICE ACTION TO DETAIN PRESUMED TERRORISTS, BUT IN FULL ACCORDANCE WITH BOLIVIAN LEGAL NORMS. END COMMENT.)

10. TRUE TO PAST PRACTICE, THE GOB HAS ALSO BEEN QUICK TO PLAY DOWN HINTS OF NARCO-TERRORIST LINKS. DURING A PRESS CONFERENCE IN THE CHAPARE DURING THE OPENING STAGES OF "GHOST ZONE" (AND AFTER HERRARDA'S ARREST) FOR EXAMPLE, SOCIAL DEFENSE (INTERDICTION) SUBSECRETARY GONZALO TORRICO DENIED THAT "SENDERISMO" (TIES TO PERU'S SL) OR "NARCO-GUERRILLISMO" (NARCO-TERRORISM) EXISTED IN BOLIVIA'S PRINCIPLE COCA GROWING ZONE. HERRARDA WAS REPORTEDLY ACTING ALONE. EARLY IN APRIL, THE NEW AGRICULTURE MINISTER, OSWALDO ANTEZANA, EXPLAINED THAT THE CHAPARE CAMPESINOS WERE MORE CONCERNED WITH DAY-TO-DAY WORRIES THAN WITH SUPPORTING ARMED INSURGENCY MOVEMENTS. (COMMENT: WE TEND TO AGREE WITH THIS ASSESSMENT. VIOLENCE IN RESPONSE TO MORE AGRESSIVE CN OPERATIONS CAN BE EXPECTED, BUT WE HAVE LITTLE HARD EVIDENCE OF TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS ACTIVELY STIRRING UP CHAPARE CAMPESINOS AGAINST THE GOB.)

ALLEGED NGO LINKS; MISTAKEN IDENTIFY

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11. ONE GLITCH IN THE GOB'S ANTI-EGTK OPERATIONS

CCURRED IN EARLY MARCH, WHEN POLICE INVESTIGATORS
LAIMED TO HAVE FOUND A LINK BETWEEN NGO "SAVE THE
HILDREN" AND THE EGTK. ON MARCH 9, NEMTALA AND CEIP
HIEF COL. LINARES INFORMED THE AMBASSADOR THAT A
ENDEMO LUMINOSO SYMPATHIZER WHO REPRESENTED THE
[redacted] WAS DIVERTING FUNDS
WITHOUT THE [redacted] KNOWLEDGE) TO THE EGTK. THE [redacted]
EPRESENTATIVE WAS WORKING IN A RURAL AREA NEAR LAKE
ITICACA.

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2. IN UNFORTUNATELY TYPICAL STYLE, THE STORY --
ARBLED, AND AIDED BY RATHER THOUGHTLESS, OFFHAND PUBLIC
EMARKS BY SAAVEDRA AND OVIEDO -- WAS LEAKED TO THE
EDIA AND "SAVE THE CHILDREN" WAS NAMED INSTEAD. IN A
RIVATE MEETING WITH THE LOCAL "SAVE THE CHILDREN"
IRECTOR, SAAVEDRA ADMITTED THE MISTAKE, BUT IT TOOK
OME QUICK SCRAMBLING BY "SAVE THE CHILDREN," USIS AND
HE AMBASSADOR (INCLUDING RAISING THE ISSUE WITH THE
ONMIN ON MARCH 11) BEFORE THE GOB ADMITTED ITS ERROR,
IA A LETTER TO THE AMBASSADOR, ON MARCH 12.

3. THE GOB STILL MAINTAINS THAT [redacted] REPRESENTATIVES

B6

****** BEGINNING OF SECTION 004 ******/
AVE BEEN DIVERTING FUNDS TO TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS,
OSSIBLY SINCE 1987. THE MARCH 12 LETTER NAMED A [redacted]
ROJECT IN THE COMMUNITY OF INCA KATURAPI AND LISTED
GTK DETAINEE FELIX ARISMENDI CAIZA AND FUGITIVES MARIO
ICONA AND ALEJANDRO CASABLANCA AS DIVERTING THE
ROJECT'S FUNDS (AS MUCH AS USDOLS 1500/MONTH, ACCORDING
O MEDIA REPORTS). WE UNDERSTAND THAT FOUR OTHER NGO'S
AY BE UNWITTINGLY INVOLVED; THE GOB'S INVESTIGATION
ONTINUES.

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OMMENT

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4. THE GOB FINALLY SEEMS TO HAVE TAKEN THE EGTK
ERRORIST THREAT SERIOUSLY (PERHAPS BECAUSE IT IS
LEARLY MORE DIRECTLY A THREAT AGAINST GOB INTERESTS
HAN AGAINST USG INTERESTS). THE MILITARY, PRIVATE
ECTOR AND THE CHURCH ALL HAVE COME OUT PUBLICLY IN
UPPORT OF THE CRACKDOWN. THE GOB APPARENTLY HAS
DDRESSED THE THREAT SYSTEMATICALLY, WITH HUMAN RIGHTS
SSUES GIVEN DUE CONSIDERATION, AND IS REALISTIC ENOUGH
O ANTICIPATE REPRISALS. THE EGTK CAMPAIGN ALSO HAS
PAWNED GREATER GOB INTER-AGENCY INTELLIGENCE (REF F,
IR 157), BUT THE GOB'S CONCENTRATION ON THE "TOP" CELL
REVENTS APPLYING SCARCE RESOURCES TO A WIDER RANGE OF
GTK AND OTHER TERRORIST GROUP ACTIVITIES.

15. THE EGTK MAY BE BETTER ORGANIZED AND HARDER CORE THAN THE GOB IMAGINED EARLIER, BASED ON THE GARCIA'S BOASTS, BUT IT MAY NOT HAVE CONDUCTED ALL THE ACTIONS ATTRIBUTED TO IT.

B/A3

16. BASED ON THE RECENT ARRESTS, THE ORGANIZATION (OR AT LEAST ITS LEADERSHIP) SEEMS TO BE MORE ODLE- OR LOWER MIDDLE-CLASS AND URBAN-BASED; IF TRUE, MAY BE LESS HREATENING TO THE GOB THAN MOBILIZED CAM NOS. THE UNDERLYING SOCIO-ECONOMIC MOTIVATIONS FOR THE EGTK AND SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS REMAIN, HOWEVER, DESPITE THE PUBLIC OUTCRY AGAINST TERRORISM AND THE GOB'S CLAIM THAT THE EGTK DOES NOT HAVE WIDESPREAD SUPPORT.

BOWERS
ADMIN
BT

#7936

NNNN